

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 OIC-04 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1471

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 0932

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, ANTO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: TACTICAL TREATMENT OF STABILIZING
MEASURES

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REPLIES TO THE DEPARTMENT'S
REQUEST (STATE 21329) FOR DELEGATION VIEWS ON TACTICAL HANDLING
OF STABILIZING MEASURES WITH EAST IN NEXT WEEKS. AS
IS KNOWN, ALLIES IN VIENNA ARE STILL IN STAGE OF PRESENTING
THEIR OVERALL POSITION AND DEVELOPING THE CASE IN SUPPORT
OF IT, RATHER THAN AS YET NEGOTIATING IN DETAIL ON ANY SPECIFIC
ASPECT OF THEIR PROGRAM. PRESENTATION OF ALLIED STABILIZING
MEASURES SHOULD FIT INTO THIS EXISTING ALLIED PROGRAM AND
SHOULD BE DESIGNED TO GET FAVORABLE HEARING FOR ALLIED PRO-
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POSALS. IN OUR OPINION, THIS MEANS PRESENTING ONLY MAIN

ELEMENTS OF STABILIZING MEASURES AND LEAVING DETAILS UNTIL LATER AND ALSO PRESENTING THE MEASURES IN A CONTEXT WHICH WILL APPEAR MOST LOGICAL TO EAST, THAT IS, IN CONTEXT OF REDUCTIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. WE APPRECIATE USNATO AND WASHINGTON AGENCIES' EFFECTIVE WORK IN BRINGING ABOUT PROGRESS ON COMPLICATED TOPIC OF STABILIZING MEASURES. AD HOC GROUP HAS BEGUN CONSIDERING THE TACTICAL USE TO BE MADE OF THE SPC PAPER, AND ON JANUARY 31 REQUESTED THE COUNCIL TO PROVIDE "AS SIMPLIFIED OUTLINE OF THE MAIN TERMS OF PROPOSED MEASURES" BY FEBRUARY 20. (TEXT IN VIENNA 884).

3. FROM VIEWPOINT OF US DELEGATION, IT IS ESSENTIAL FOR EFFECTIVE TACTICAL PRESENTATION OF THE MEASURES TO THE EAST BY THE ALLIES THAT THE GUIDANCE FROM THE NAC TRANSMITTING THE MEASURES TO THE AHG DESCRIBE THEM AS USNATO 494 SUGGESTS AS "A FUND OF AGREED MATERIAL FROM WHICH ALLIED NEGOTIATIONS CAN DRAW AS APPROPRIATE IN VIENNA." IF THE GROUP LACKED TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY AND WERE FOR EXAMPLE OBLIGED TO PUT FORWARD A LARGE AMOUNT OF DETAIL AT THE OUTSET THE RESISTANCE OF THE EAST TOWARDS THESE MEASURES, WHICH EASTERN DELS HAVE CLEARLY SIGNALLED IN ADVANCE, WOULD ONLY BE INCREASED. CONSEQUENTLY, WE HOPE IT WILL BE POSSIBLE IN THE COUNCIL'S TREATMENT ON FEBRUARY 6 OF THE SPC REPORT AND IN THE COUNCIL'S SUBSEQUENT GUIDANCE TO THE AHG TO EMPHASIZE THE POINT THAT THE REPORT IS ONE FROM WHICH NEGOTIATORS MAY DRAW, RATHER THAN A NEGOTIATING DOCUMENT TO BE FOLLOWED IN ITS ENTIRETY FROM THE OUTSET.

4. TO JUDGE FROM WHAT THE EAST HAS SAID IN VIENNA THUS FAR, IT WILL, AT LEAST INITIALLY, RESIST DISCUSSING THOSE STABILIZING MEASURES ALLIES WISH TO ADVANCE NOW ON THE GROUNDS THAT ANY ASSOCIATED MEASURES ARE SUBORDINATE TO REDUCTIONS AND WOULD ONLY BE JUSTIFIED AS NECESSARY TO IMPLEMENT PREVIOUSLY AGREED REDUCTIONS. THIS POSITION HAS BEEN SIGNALLED BY A NUMBER OF EASTERN PLENARY STATEMENTS, AND MOST CONSPICUOUSLY BY THE EASTERN TENDENCY TO OMIT "ASSOCIATED MEASURES" FROM THE AGREED DESCRIPTION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER OF THESE TALKS.

5. WE HAVE THEREFORE BEEN SEARCHING FOR WAYS IN WHICH THE
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INITIAL ALLIED PRESENTATION ON STABILIZING MEASURES COULD REDUCE THE APPLICABILITY OF THIS EASTERN ARGUMENT AND SECURE A BETTER HEARING FOR THE ALLIED PROPOSALS ON THEIR INTRINSIC MERITS.

6. THE APPROACH THAT SEEMS TO US MOST PROMISING IS TO ARGUE THAT ANY PHASE I REDUCTION AGREEMENT REACHED WILL NECESSARILY LIMIT THE LEVELS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES IN THE

AREA AND YET MUST PERMIT SOME MOVEMENTS IN AND OUT, REPLACE-
MENTS, AND EXERCISES. IT FOLLOWS THAT SUCH MOVEMENTS MUST BE
REGULATED AND KEPT TRACK OF IN SUCH A WAY AS TO MINIMIZE
MISUNDERSTANDINGS, MAXIMIZE PERCEIVED SECURITY, AND YET PERMIT
FORCE MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES WHICH ARE MILITARILY DESIRABLE.
ALLIED STABILIZING MEASURES CAN BE PRESENTED AS SPECIFIC
WAYS OF PERFORMING THIS NECESSARY REGULATORY FUNCTION.

7. IT WILL BE OBSERVED THAT THIS APPROACH WOULD REQUIRE USING
WITH THE EAST UNDERLYING POINT OF MEASURES I AND IV IN PARA
29 OF CM(73)83. WE THEREFORE WELCOME THE SUGGESTION IN USNATO
494 THAT THE ALLIES SHOULD NOW TURN TO PARA 29. HOWEVER, WE
WOULD URGE THAT CONSIDERATION OF THESE MEASURES AT NATO BE
IN TERMS PREVIOUSLY FORESEEN, TREATING THEM AS "STABILIZING
MEASURES TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS" SINCE THEY PROVIDE THE LOGICAL
CONNECTION BETWEEN REDUCTIONS AS SUCH AND THE FOUR STABILIZING
MEASURES NOW READY FOR PRESENTATION TO THE EAST. WE WOULD
HOPE TO AVOID DIVISION BY NAC OF THE SUBJECT MATTER INTO SEP-
ARATE CATEGORIES, WHICH SOME AHG MEMBERS MIGHT INTERPRET
AS FORBIDDING ALLIES TO USE THIS LOGICAL CONNECTION IN PRESENT-
ATIONS TO THE EAST.

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S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 0932

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

8. PRESENTATION OF ALLIED PROPOSALS TO EAST WOULD THEREFORE ALSO BE FACILITATED IF THE NAC GUIDANCE TO THE AHG WHICH RESULTS FROM ITS CONSIDERATION OF THE SPC PAPER COULD CONTAIN A SENTENCE WHICH PERMITTED THE AHG TO USE THE CONCEPT THAT STABILIZING MEASURES ARE NEEDED TO RECONCILE ONGOING MILITARY NECESSITIES WITH THE REQUIREMENT OF REDUCTIONS. TO THIS END, WE RECOMMEND THAT USNATO BE REQUESTED TO PROPOSE FOR NAC APPROVAL FOR INCLUSION IN MESSAGE OF TRANSMITTAL TO AHG A SENTENCE ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES: " IN PRESENTING THE STABILIZING MEASURES IN PARA 23 OF CM(73)83 TO THE WARSAW PACT, THE AHG SHOULD, AS TACTICAL NEEDS INDICATE, MAKE A CONNECTION BETWEEN THESE MEASURES AND OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ALLIED POSITION, INCLUDING THE CONCEPT THAT POST-REDUCTION FORCE LEVELS WILL HAVE TO BE OBSERVED, THAT THIS IN TURN WILL REQUIRE EXCEPTIONS

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FOR SUCH PURPOSES AS EXERCISES OR ROTATIONS, AND CONSEQUENTLY THAT MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES OF US AND SOVIET FORCES MUST BE LIMITED IN CERTAIN WAYS."

9. THE POINT MAY BE RAISED THAT THIS APPROACH COULD PREJUDICE THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE PARA 23 MEASURES MIGHT BE NEGOTIATED AS PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS. SINCE ALLIES HAVE ALREADY BEGUN TO DISCUSS THEIR REDUCTION PROPOSALS WITH THE EAST, IT IS NO LONGER FEASIBLE TO FOLLOW THE EARLIER CONCEPT OF TRYING TO OBTAIN EASTERN AGREEMENT TO STABILIZING MEASURES AS A TEST OF EASTERN GOOD WILL BEFORE ANY DISCUSSION OF REDUCTIONS. THERE REMAINS ISSUE OF WHETHER MEASURES SHOULD BE IMPLEMENTED BEFORE REDUCTIONS TAKE PLACE. WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE TACTICALLY UNWISE FOR ALLIES TO PROPOSE FROM OUTSET THAT EACH MEASURE BE IMPLEMENTED BEFORE REDUCTIONS TAKE PLACE. EVEN IF ALLIES DESIRED PRIOR IMPLEMENTATION OF STABILIZING MEASURES, IT WOULD BE BEST TACTIC TO EMPHASIZE IN INITIAL PRESENTATIONS THE "ASSOCIATION" OF STABILIZING MEASURES WITH REDUCTIONS. THIS IS BECAUSE, NOW THAT ALLIED REDUCTION PROPOSAL IS ON THE TABLE, IT IS LOGICAL AS FIRST STEP FOR ALLIES TO BEGIN TO LAY OUT THEIR ASSOCIATED MEASURES AND ARGUE THEIR INTRINSIC MERITS. GIVEN CURRENT EASTERN ATTITUDES ON THE STABILIZING MEASURES, ONLY AFTER ALLIES HAVE MADE THEIR CASE TO THE EAST FOR THE UTILITY OF THESE MEASURES IN THE CONTEXT OF REDUCTIONS AND AFTER DEGREE OF AGREEMENT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED ON THEIR CONTENT, WOULD IT BE TACTICALLY FEASIBLE TO ARGUE THAT THEY WERE INTRINSICALLY SO USEFUL THAT THEY

SHOULD BE PUT INTO EFFECT EVEN BEFORE REDUCTIONS. HUMES

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